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AUTHOR Mueller, Barbara
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ABSTRACT

A study examined the advertising of Japan and the United States to determine if commercial messages reflect the cultural values of a particular society, thereby indicating the need for specialized campaigns. It was hypothesized that the majority of Japanese advertisements would use the traditional appeals of group, consensus, soft sell, veneration of the elderly, and traditional status and oneness with nature. If, however, advertising is attempting to shape social values for the commercial purposes of creating a Westernized or world consumer culture, it was expected that modern advertising appeals, such as individuality and independence, hard sell, youth and modernity, product merit, and manipulation of nature appeals would prevail. A sample of print advertisements from mass circulation magazines (general interest news and female magazines) was examined. American advertisements served as a standard against which the degree of westernization of advertising appeals was compared. The results showed numerous differences between Japanese and American advertisements. However, differences observed were in degree rather than in kind. Advertisements in both countries implement to some extent the same ten basic advertising appeals. (HTH)

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Reflections of Culture: An Analysis of Japanese and American Advertising Appeals

by Barbara Mueller

School of Communications
University of Washington, DS-40
Seattle, WA 98195

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ABSTRACT

The debate between standardized international advertising continues. The advertising of Japan and the United States is investigated to determine if commercial messages reflect the cultural values of a particular society, thereby indicating the need for specialized campaigns, or whether advertisements are relatively similar in content across cultures allowing for the standardization of international campaigns. The results show numerous differences between Japanese and American advertisements. However, differences observed were in degree and not in kind. Advertisements in both countries implemented to some extent the same ten basic advertising appeals.

McLuhan's vision of a global village is fast becoming a reality as mass marketers look to overseas markets to maintain growth and to expand profit bases. Global marketing gurus, such as Theodore Levitt, support the standardization of advertising worldwide, reasoning that human nature springs from similar motivations The global marketing theory is based on the assumption that "people all over the world have the same tastes and desires, and that they are remarkably alike regarding love, hate, fear, greed, joy, patriotism, pornography, material comforts, mysticism and the role of food in their lives.[1] Therefore, the same product can be sold everywhere with the same or similar promotional appeals.

Advertising theorists supporting the specialization of commercial messages suggest that advertising is one of the most difficult marketing elements to standardize, sometimes because of the legal restrictions that require changes in copy, or make certain media unavailable, but more often because of cultural differences. Cultural is viewed as all pervasive. "No matter how hard man tries, it is impossible for him to divest himself of his own culture. . . . people cannot act or interact at all in any meaningful way except through the medium of culture."[2] Nielson warns against companies that open foreign markets and pursue the same marketing policies they use in the U.S. because they see similarities in the overseas markets. He points out 15 errors these companies can make.[3] Similarly, Dunn and Lorimar note that the barriers to effective international communications are many and marketers must learn either through experience or research to anticipate many of the problems that arise in creating messages for foreign markets.[4] Such problems can be circumvented with the development of specialized promotional appeals.

An analysis of the current literature reflects an increasing number of articles, conference papers and research studies on the topic of standardization vs. specialization. Dunn[5] as well as several others have undertaken the limited amount of empirical research available. In a pilot project, Hornik found significant differences in the way advertisements are perceived. "While concepts like product attributes are probably universal, and while the product function is probably similar across nations, the exact form of attribute perception in each society might suffer considerably."[6] Through an analysis of the cultural content of advertisements from the U.S., the Philippines and Thailand, Marquez found that the advertisements portrayed representative aspects of the cultures in a strikingly identical manner.[7] Green, Cunningham and Cunningham show that while consumers in Brazil, France, India and the U.S. may have similar needs, they vary in the way they characterize the products that could satisfy

those needs.[8] A study which focuses on the views of advertising experts on the topic of standardization vs. specialization was undertaken by Ryans and Donnelly. The results indicate that more caution must be exercised in cross national advertising.[9] A more applied approach was taken by Colvin, Heeler and Thorpe. Here promotion strategies for a major auto manufacturer were developed for different international market segments by comparing consumer preferences measured by trade off analysis with their perceptions of new and existing products. Their system allows for cross country differences in product perceptions and attribute preferences.[10]

Many more of the studies dealing with this question have been descriptive and general, rather than analytical and specific. Slater[11] and Ricks et al.[12] outline the hazards of cross cultural advertising. Harnik and Rubinow discuss the use of expert judges in cross national advertising as offering unique advantages.[13] And the environmental variables useful for formulating advertising strategies are discussed by Kaynak and Mitchell.[14]

In the face of this debate, transnational advertising agencies have become the target of growing criticism. Charges against such agencies are many. Mass manipulation, consumerism, cultural imperialism and other negative effects have all been attributed to advertising agencies preparing global campaigns, and often because of their attempts to use the standardized approach to advertising internationally. It is clear that the standardized vs. specialized debate is in need of attention by the research community.

The research focus of this study is to examine the role of culture in advertising content. Is culture reflected within advertisements, thus requiring advertisers if they wish to be successful to adapt or specialize their messages for foreign audiences, or are commercial messages for specific product categories basically similar among various countries, thereby allowing advertisers to employ standardized advertisements in marketing to consumers worldwide? It is my thesis that advertising tends to reflect the prevalent values of a culture in which it exists, insofar as those values can be used to shape the consumption ethic. As a means of examining this thesis, Japanese advertisements will be compared with U.S. advertisements for similar products.

Through an intensive investigation of the literature on Japanese society, a set of values, norms and national characteristics were collected as being representative of Japanese culture. These range from the traditional, to the more modern, Western influenced values, norms and characteristics.

Cultural values, norms and characteristics are embedded in advertising appeals, which are used to differing degrees in various cultures. It is these

advertising appeals which will be the focus of this analysis. A content analysis scheme will be used to determine the existence or absence of such appeals in Japanese and American advertisements, so that an assesment can be made on the degree to which such advertisements exhibit cultural values, norms and characteristics.

An advertising appeal is defined as any message designed to motivate the consumer to purchase. To motivate consumer action, the statement must be related to the person's interests, wants, goals and problems. The reasons behind the purchase are the benefits the buyer receives that prompts purchase. "The life giving spark of an advertisement is the promise of the special significant benefit the product will provide--a promise the product must be able to fullfill. The special significant benefit becomes the appeal of the advertisement."[15]

The appeal is typically carried in the illustration and headline. Copy tends to reinforce the message sent in these two elements. Thus, in determining appeals, both the visual and the headline are taken into consideration. an advertisement may contain more than one appeal, however, the majority of advertisements tend to contain one dominant appeal and it is this appeal that is coded. The prevalent Japanese values, norms and characteristics have been operationalized to form both traditional and modern/Westernized appeals.

Traditional Appeals : If culture is reflected, one would expect to find the following traditional appeals:

Group Consensus Appeal: The emphasis here is on the individual in relation with others, typically the reference group. The individual is depicted as an integral part of the whole. References may be made to significant others. Pressure is on consensus and conformity to the will of the group.

Soft Sell Appeal: Mood and atmosphere are conveyed through a beautiful scene or the development of an emotional story or verse. Human emotional sentiments are emphasized over clear-cut product related appeals.

Veneration of Elderly and Traditional Appeals: Wisdom of the elderly, as well as the veneration of that which is traditional is stressed. Depiction of older group members being asked for advice, opinions and recommendations. Models in such advertisements tend to be older.

Status Appeals: Advertisements suggest that the use of a particular product will improve some inherent quality of the user in the eyes of others. Position and rank within the context of the group are stressed. This category also includes foreign status appeals: use of foreign words, phrases, models and foreign celebrity endorsements.

Oneness with Nature Appeals: The goodness and beauty of nature are emphasized in relationship with man. Interaction and affinity of man and nature are stressed. The focus is on back-to-nature themes.

Modern and Westernized Appeals: If advertising themes are utilized as tools in the development of a global consumer culture, one would expect to find the following Westernized appeals:

Individual and Independence Appeals: Emphasis is on the individual as being distinct and unlike others. Individuals are depicted as standing out in a crowd, or having the ability to be self-sufficient. Non-conformity, originality and uniqueness are key terms. Dependency is down-played.

Hard Sell Appeals: Sales orientation is emphasized here, stressing brand name and product recommendations. Explicit mention may be made of competitive products, sometimes by name, and the product advantage depends on performance. This appeal includes such statements such as "number one" and "leader."

Youth and Modernity Appeals: Emphasis is on modernity, deification of the younger generation, often through the depiction of younger models. Stress is on contemporariness and youthful benefits of the products.

Product Merit Appeals: Focus is on the product and its characteristics. Some aspect or feature of the product is described in depth. The benefit to the consumer is secondary or implied.

Manipulation of Nature Appeals: The theme here is man triumphing over the elements of nature. Man's superiority over nature is reflected, as well as an emphasis on technological achievement.

METHODOLOGY

Given the premise that advertising reflects cultural values, it is expected that the majority of Japanese advertisements will utilize the traditional appeals of group, consensus, soft sell, veneration of the elderly and traditional, status and oneness with nature. If, however, advertising is attempting to shape social values for the commercial purposes of creating a Westernized or world consumer culture, it is expected that modern advertising appeals, such as the individual and independence, hard sell, youth and modernity, product merit, and manipulation of nature appeals will prevail.

In order to determine the extent to which either traditional or modern values exist in Japanese advertisements, and to what degree they are represented by the above appeals, a sample of advertisements from both Japan and the U.S. were analyzed. The American advertisements serve as a standard against which the degree of Westernization of advertising appeals can be compared.

The advertising medium used in this analysis is print. Mass circulation magazines of two types were examined, one a general interest news magazine, and the other magazine targeted at the female audience. In order to maintain comparability, the two magazine types from each country were matched by format, audience demographics, and circulation. The periodical selected as being representative of the Japanese news magazine is Shukan Asahi. Newsweek was selected as the most comparable American news magazine. The Japanese women's magazine selected was Katei Gaho, and Good Housekeeping was found to be the comparable American women's magazine.

The unit of analysis was restricted to full page, full color advertisements. Product categories analyzed were kept consistent among the four publications. The reasoning here is to negate the claim that different appeals are more effective for certain types of products than others. "It has become a truism to observe that the impact of an advertisement is determined by the complex interactions involving the product advertised, the appeal that is made on its behalf, and the consumer."[16] The independent variable here is the degree of product involvement, which ranges from low to high. Low involvement goods tend to be packaged goods of a relatively low price, which are purchased frequently by the consumer. High involvement goods are those which generally tend to be higher in price, purchased relatively infrequently and which require some pertinent information searching by the consumer. A third category, medium involvement, is used to define those product types which fall in the center of the involvement continua. Such products are in the mid-price range and require moderate search activity and information processing on the part of the consumer. Differing appeals are expected to be used with varying degrees of effectiveness depending on the level of product involvement. In holding product categories and appeal levels constant, the opportunity to observe appeal variation is maximized.

In all, the appeals for nine product categories were compared, three from each level of involvement (low, medium and high). Products selected to represent high involvement category are automobiles, kitchen appliances and jewelry. Low involvement products include hair care products, wine and food products (only those product categories consumed in both the East and West). The third category of medium level of product involvement is represented by watches, television sets and cameras.

All full color, full page 1978 advertisements for these nine product categories found printed in the four publications were collected and used as the data base for this study. Japanese advertisements were translated by native

Japanese. The total sample is 378 advertisements: 146 Japanese advertisements (66 from Shukan Asahi, and 80 from Katei Gaho), and 232 American advertisements (109 from Newsweek, and 123 from Good Housekeeping).

A 10 x 2 matrix was used in coding each of the nine product categories. The ten appeal types were listed vertically, the Japanese and American products for each category were listed horizontally. Each unit or advertisement was coded for classification by dominant appeal type. In determining the classification, the visual and the headline of the advertisement were scanned using the operational definitions of the appeals, in order to draw out a single dominant appeal.

In order to determine the reliability of the coding scheme developed and the resulting data, two reliability tests were administered. An intra-coder reliability, or stability test, was administered first. Stability becomes manifest under test-retest conditions. The experimenter recorded 10 percent (38) of all the advertisements (both English and Japanese) after an eight-week time lapse. Of the randomly selected advertisements, 94.7 percent were coded in the same manner as initially. In order to determine the degree to which the analysis can be recreated under varying circumstances, at different locations, and with different coders, a test of reproducibility was applied to the coding scheme. Forty advertisements were selected randomly from the data base for re-analysis (twenty American and twenty Japanese). The forty advertisements were divided into four basic questionnaire packets, each containing ten advertisements (five English and five Japanese with translations), one Code Analysis Grid Sheet, and a definition of the 10 advertising appeal types . The four differing questionnaire packets were distributed to University of Washington undergraduate students enrolled in a summer quarter advertising course. Coders were asked to apply the common data language of advertising appeal types to the advertisements.

In all, 25 packets were distributed with a return rate of 11. Reproducibility required that coders be independent. Independence was insured, as the questionnaire contained differing materials, thus discouraging communication, which invariably falsely influences coding toward higher agreement.

The results of the reproducibility test show that 71.8 percent of the students coded the advertisements in the same manner as the experimenter. The lower-then-expected figure reflects inter-observer differences in the way the recording instructions were interpreted. However, with the combination of

stability and reproducibility tests, the coding scheme is believed to be sufficiently reliable.

RESULTS

General Usage of Advertising Appeals

In looking at the overall usage of advertising appeal types in the East and West, considering all product types, all levels of involvement and both magazine formats, some interesting trends can be seen.

Table 1 here

Group Consensus Appeals: The assumption that the traditional Japanese reverence of the group over the individual would be reflected in the advertising was not borne out by this study. In fact, among the 378 advertisements, more American advertisements used the group or consensus appeal than did the Japanese advertisements. The most reasonable explanation for this phenomenon is that in Japan, with the developing emphasis on consumption, and the increasing breakdown of the extended family orientation into nuclear households, particularly in urban areas, Japanese advertisers have found it more profitable to stress the new emerging individuality of the Eastern consumer, than to uphold the slowly declining traditional group orientation.

Individual and Independence Appeals: This shift to individuality in Japanese advertising is reflected in the greater usage of individual and independence appeals over those used in American advertisements. Themes such as "be more gorgeous than the others," and "stand out from the rest" are becoming increasingly popular in Japan.

Soft Sell Appeals: As was hypothesized, Japanese advertising tends to be less direct when compared with Western styles of advertising. The Eastern advertisements appeal much more to the emotional level of the consumer, and rely on building atmosphere within the confines of the printed page.

Hard Sell Appeals: As expected, hard sell themes are a rarity in Japan. A minimal number of all Japanese advertisements surveyed contained comparative or competitive statements, or emphasized the brand's superiority over other products. The comparative appeals were "softened" in that competitors were not named by brand; the advertisement simply asks the consumer to "please compare." Here the Japanese reluctance to cause a competitor to lose face is clearly demonstrated. Hard sell appeals are used to a greater extent in American advertisements where such sanctions against naming the competition do not exist.

Veneration of Elderly and Traditional Appeals: Another significant difference between the advertising appeal types of the two countries is in the general employment of the traditional or veneration of the elderly appeal types. More than one in ten Japanese advertisements surveyed, stressed the traditional or respect for the elder generation. This is in line with the assumption that traditional emphasis on that which has gone before is respected. This is closely tied to the Japanese hierarchy system and the role of status in society. Only a minimal number of American advertisements contained such appeals, mirroring our view of the elderly in this country, and our attitudes towards things considered "old-fashioned."

Modernity and Youth Appeals: Not surprisingly, the use of youthful or modernity appeals showed little difference between the two markets. Both the U.S. and Japan have a large youth market which has substantial buying power, and this audience is communicated to through just such modern appeals, which often deify the younger generation in the process.

Status Appeals: Another major distinction is found in the general usage of status appeals. In almost twice as many Japanese advertisements as American advertisements, some form of status appeal was made to the consumer. Particularly popular in the Eastern advertisements was the use of American and European words in the copy, or the employment of Western looking models. If the impression was given that a product was imported, or had the sanction of Western markets, it was seen by Japanese consumers as being a highly prestigious product, much more luxurious that a domestic product of comparable quality.

Product Merit Appeals: The use of product merit appeals is considerably higher in American advertisements as compared to Japanese advertisements. The usage of product merit appeals in Japanese advertisements was much higher than expected. A plausible explanation is that with the increasing number of branded products being sold in Japan, advertisers find it necessary to differentiate their product with descriptions of unique product benefits. No longer is it adequate to simply portray the product in a beautiful or natural setting in this highly competitive market.

Oneness with Nature Appeals: No major differences were noted in the employment of nature oriented appeals in the advertising copy of the two countries. Both the East and West have experienced the high levels of pollution that industrialization produces. Themes emphasizing the goodness of nature are found in both Japanese and American advertisements. A subtle difference in the application of this appeal exists: U.S. advertisements in this category focus

on natural as opposed to man-made goods, while the Japanese advertisements emphasize the individual's relationship with nature.

Manipulation of Nature Appeals: The manipulation of nature appeals were used equally infrequently in the advertising of both countries. This undoubtedly is linked to the conservation consciousness and efforts to "get back to nature" popular at present in both the East and West.

Advertising Appeals by Product Involvement Level

High Involvement Products:

Table 2 here

For this level of product involvement, the appeal most commonly employed in Japanese advertisements was the status appeal. The second and third most commonly used appeal types were the individual-independence appeals and product merit appeals. Soft sell appeals were used in less than one-fifth of the advertisements for autos, jewelry and kitchen appliances.

In the advertising of these products in the U.S., by far the most commonly used appeal was product merit, followed by status appeals and hard sell appeals.

The difference between the East and West in the promotion of these high involvement products is significant. When the Japanese consumer purchases a relatively expensive, infrequently purchased item, the most commonly used appeal by Japanese advertisers to convince the audience to purchase is the status appeal. This is closely tied to the use of individuality appeals. Many advertisements in this category stressed standing out in the crowd, emphasizing the status involved in individuality. Even here, the desire to sell the product is second to pleasing the consumer. The more the advertisement pleases the Japanese consumer, the more likely it is to move the product."[17]

In the U.S., consumers of higher priced items are much more concerned with information on product characteristics, comparisons and recommendations, than in mood or image. Soft sell appeals use used in only a very limited number of the American advertisements for high involvement products.

Medium Involvement Products:

Table 3 here

In the selling of cameras, television sets and watches, all products falling under the classification of medium level involvement, the product merit

appeal is most commonly used in Japanese advertisements, closely followed by soft sell appeals. Status appeals are also commonly utilized.

In the United States, the most popular form of appeal for this classification is by far the product merit appeal. Other appeals, such as hard sell, modernity and youth, and status are all used relatively infrequently.

Again, significantly less emphasis is placed on the product itself, or in product characteristics in Japanese advertisements. Japanese advertisements tend to use a variety of appeal types, tempered with a good deal of soft sell in the promotion of products in this category, while U.S. advertisers rely on product merit appeals for the majority of their advertisements.

Low Involvement Products:

Table 4 here

For products such as foods, hair-care and wine, the Japanese depend on product merit, traditional and elderly appeals and on soft sell appeals. U.S. campaigns for these products rely predominately on product merit, and to a much lesser extent on oneness with nature, and status and group consensus appeals.

A close relationship is seen in the promotion of food products in the East and West. In the Japanese advertisements, appeals draw a connection between the product and the traditional way of life, while in the U.S., the goodness of nature (a traditional American way of life) is emphasized.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As can be seen from the above findings, there are numerous differences between Japanese and American advertisements. Some differences are rather subtle, others are quite blatant. The involvement level of the product has an impact on the most common type of advertising appeal used in the East or West. Differences observed tend to be differences in degree, not in kind. All appeal types were found in the advertisements of both countries, but to varying degrees.

This comparison of themes manifest in Japanese and American advertisements has shown that the consumer in these two countries is surprisingly similar in many ways, consumers in each country are exposed to some extent to the same ten basic advertising appeals. And yet, the advertisements of each country exhibit some degree of sensitivity to the cultural uniqueness of the particular consuming market. Cultural sensitivity is portrayed through the varying usage of these same appeals.

Examples of cultural sensitivity are numerous. Consider the traditional Japanese distaste for confronting one's competition results in a relative lack of usage of hard sell appeals in their advertising. Conversely, the long held value of indirect, implicit and non-verbal communication forms has led to a high usage of soft sell appeals in Japanese commercial communications. Almost four times as many soft sell appeals are found in Japanese advertisements as in those originating in the United States. The custom of showing respect for what has gone before results in a greater utilization of veneration of the elderly and the traditional appeals in Eastern advertisements in general, and in particular for the advertising of low involvement products such as foods and wines. Thus, the primary thesis, that advertising tends to reflect the prevalent values of the culture in which it exists has been confirmed.

However, despite these examples of advertising reflecting cultural values, the secondary hypothesis, that the majority of Japanese advertisements would thus make use of primarily traditional appeals (group consensus, soft sell, status, veneration of elderly and traditional, oneness with nature), has not been entirely substantiated. It has been quite clearly shown that the strongly held traditional value of the group and consensus is little reflected in contemporary Japanese advertisements. Instead, increasingly the Westernized appeal of individuality and independence is utilized in many Japanese advertisements. Japanese advertisements encourage the consumer to be "better than others," and to "stand out from the rest." Gone is the fear of being the "nail that sticks out." Why this seeming contradiction? If advertising reflects culture, and consensus is the cultural tradition of the Japanese society, how is the increased use of individual and independence appeals in Japanese advertising explained?

The key here is that advertising reflects cultural values only so long as it is profitable to do so. Though thriftiness and frugality were once traditional American values, it is unlikely that they would be stressed to any great extent in the advertising of today. Rather, modern-day American advertising exalts in the materialistic virtues of consumption. Similarly, in Japan, advertisers have found it more lucrative to focus on the individual, divesting him of the protection and support of the collectivity. The individual consumer is much more susceptible to the ministrations of the advertisers.

What develops from this continual shaping of cultures in order to fit the advertisers and manufacturers needs is a world-class consumer. Granted, there are similarities among cultures and consumers. And, as can be seen from the above results, there are some appeals which are common to both countries, and

which are likely universal. Themes such as product merit, which describes the product characteristics to the consuming public, and status appeals, which suggest that the use of a particular product will enhance some inherent quality of the user, are likely to appeal to consumers around the world. Other appeals which are likely to have a global impact are "mother and child," "freedom from pain," and "glow of health." Such appeals are rooted in human experience worldwide.

However, there are other themes which are definitely not universal, such as grouping and consensual behaviors, the veneration of the elderly and the traditional, and the emphasis on non-verbal communications and social harmony. If such unique cultural traits are increasingly discarded and replaced, or transported to other cultures to fit manufacturers and advertisers needs, we will see the onset of the homogenization of all cultures into a world culture, and the "manufacture" of a universal consumer in our very near future. The role of culture plays a central and complex role in advertising. A good deal of research remains to be done to further examine the debate over standardized vs. specialized international advertising.

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TABLE 1

ADVERTISEMENT ANALYSIS GRID

PRODUCT TYPE All Products

INVOLVEMENT LEVEL All Levels

MAGAZINE TYPE News/Women's Magazines

Appeal	Japanese Advertisements (N = 146) %	American Advertisements (N = 232) %
Group/ Consensus	6.8%	9.0%
Individual/ Independence	6.2	4.7
Soft Sell Appeal	21.2	5.2
Hard Sell Appeal	1.4	5.6
Elderly/ Traditional	11.0	1.3
Modernity/ Youth	2.1	3.9
Status Appeal	17.1	9.9
Product Merit	28.1	56.3
Oneness with Nature	5.5	3.9
Manipulation of Nature	0.7	0.4

TABLE 2

ADVERTISEMENT ANALYSIS GRID

PRODUCT TYPE Auto/Jewelry/Appliance

INVOLVEMENT LEVEL High Level

MAGAZINE TYPE News/Women's Magazines

Appeal	Japanese Advertisements (N = 38) %	American Advertisements (N = 109) %
Group/ Consensus	5.3%	3.7%
Individual/ Independence	21.0	6.4
Soft Sell Appeal	18.4	6.4
Hard Sell Appeal	5.3	11.0
Elderly/ Traditional		
Modernity/ Youth	2.6	5.5
Status Appeal	23.7	15.6
Product Merit	21.0	41.3
Oneness with Nature	2.6	
Manipulation of Nature		0.9

TABLE 3

ADVERTISEMENT ANALYSIS GRID

PRODUCT TYPE Camera/Television/Watch

INVOLVEMENT LEVEL Medium-High

MAGAZINE TYPE News/Women's Magazines

Appeal	Japanese Advertisements (N = 24) %	American Advertisements (N = 24) %
Group/ Consensus	4.2%	4.2%
Individual/ Independence	12.5	
Soft Sell Appeal	29.2	
Hard Sell Appeal		4.2
Elderly/ Traditional		
Modernity/ Youth		4.2
Status Appeal	16.7	4.2
Product Merit	33.4	83.4
Oneness with Nature		
Manipulation of Nature	4.2	

TABLE 4

ADVERTISEMENT ANALYSIS GRID

PRODUCT TYPE Food/Hair Care/Wine

INVOLVEMENT LEVEL Low Level

MAGAZINE TYPE News/Women's Magazines

Appeal	Japanese Advertisements (N = 84) %	American Advertisements (N = 99) %
Group/ Consensus	8.3%	6.1%
Individual/ Independence	2.4	5.1
Soft Sell Appeal	15.5	4.0
Hard Sell Appeal	0	0
Elderly/ Traditional	19.0	3.0
Modernity/ Youth	2.4	2.0
Status Appeal	14.3	6.1
Product Merit	29.8	64.6
Oneness with Nature	8.3	9.1
Manipulation of Nature		